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S. Deger-Jalkotzy

## Late Mycenaean Warrior Tombs

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# ANCIENT GREECE

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From the Mycenaean Palaces  
to the Age of Homer



Edited by  
Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos

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# ANCIENT GREECE: FROM THE MYCENAEAN PALACES TO THE AGE OF HOMER

Edited by  
Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos

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# LATE MYCENAEAN WARRIOR TOMBS

*Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy*

In recent years the last stages of the Mycenaean civilisation, that being the archaeological period of LH IIIC in Greece and the Aegean and LM IIIC in Crete (twelfth and first half of eleventh centuries), has increasingly attracted scholarly attention. This period which followed after the destruction of the palaces has often been viewed as an inglorious epilogue to the Mycenaean palace period and a threshold to the Dark Ages. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the post-palatial period was an illiterate age, lacking in the higher arts, crafts and intellectual achievements that had marked the era of the Mycenaean palaces. However, looked at in its own right, the Mycenaean post-palatial period was by no means devoid of creativity and innovation (Schachermeyr 1980; Rutter 1992; Deger-Jalkotzy forthcoming). In fact, judged by the results of recent archaeological study and research, the Greeks of the last phase of Mycenaean civilisation came to terms, apparently quite well, with the vicissitudes of the time and with the memory of a great past. This appears to have been particularly true of the reorganisation of social structure and political ideology during the post-palatial period, as Joseph Maran has demonstrated (Maran, 2001; Maran, this volume). Maran's conclusions drawn from settlement evidence tally well with the funerary evidence of LH IIIC, as we shall see in the following.<sup>1</sup>

Tombs built in the post-palatial period, as well as the array of burial gifts in LH IIIC tombs, were generally modest (for summaries see Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 89–97; Dickinson 1994: 231–2). However, a certain degree of social differentiation seems to be reflected by burials which were accompanied by outstanding gifts of prestigious objects consisting of valuables (gold and ivory objects, bronze vessels, seal-stones, and copiously decorated stirrup jars) and objects which may be called 'exotic' such as amber, as well as objects of Egyptian,

1 Admittedly J. Maran has based his analysis upon the results of the Tiryns excavations and concentrates on the Argolid. However, there is evidence from other regions which suggests that the settlement history of other regions in LH IIIC – local variation notwithstanding – followed a comparable pattern (see Deger-Jalkotzy 1998: 124f.; Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 58; Mühlenbruch 2002).

Syro-Palestinian and Cypriot origin. Many of them were 'heirlooms' or 'antiques' that had been manufactured in earlier periods. Toilet-requisites such as tweezers, razors, combs and mirrors also seem to indicate an elated status of their owners. Moreover, the elite funerary rite of prothesis (mourning the deceased on the bier), which had been practised during the palace period as witnessed by the evidence of the clay sarcophagi from Tanagra, continued to be practised in LH IIIC (Schoinas 1999). Later on this rite became a favourite theme of Attic Geometric vase-painting.

It is in this context that the so-called warrior burials and warrior tombs of LH/LM IIIC have already been treated by several authors (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998; Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 95, 161–66; Papadopoulos 1999; Deger-Jalkotzy 1999: 130–1; Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 58–62; Moschos 2002: 29–32; Eder 2003a: 38–41; Kanta 2003). The term 'warrior tomb' is generally applied to funerary monuments containing burials that are distinguished from other interments by a pronounced military character and symbolism of their burial gifts. This phenomenon was by no means confined to the final phase of Mycenaean civilisation, as testified by the cemeteries of the pre-palatial periods from the Shaft Grave era through LH/LM II/IIIA1.<sup>2</sup> During the Mycenaean palace period of LH IIIA2 and IIIB the display of weaponry in funerary contexts was far less pronounced. It may be assumed that ostentation of military ethos was a prerogative of the rulers at the palatial centres (Deger-Jalkotzy 1999: 124–9), and the same may have applied to the deposition of weapons with the dead (Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 126). Among the prestigious burial gifts of dynastic tombs – of which none has escaped grave-robbery – weapons may well have played an important role.

Affluence of prestigious goods and valuables may be another characteristic of Mycenaean warrior burials, but it is not a decisive factor. Mycenaean cemeteries provide many instances of rich tombs and burials that did not contain weapons or objects carrying a military symbolism. Conversely warrior burials, apart from weaponry, may appear as less richly equipped than other burials of the same tomb or cemetery (see also Macdonald 1984: 66–7). Moreover, there can be no doubt that a much higher proportion of the population must have been engaged in warfare than the number of warrior tombs seems to suggest. It is therefore clear that warrior burials and warrior tombs refer to a status of excellence and not to a profession (Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 111).

The progress made in recent years in defining the phases of LH IIIC relative chronology has induced me to approach once again the subject of the warrior tombs of that period. A basic chronological scheme consisting of three phases

2 For sociological analyses of Early Mycenaean warrior tombs see, for instance, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986; Acheson 1999; Voutsaki 1999: 115; Deger-Jalkotzy 1999: 121–4). On warrior burials dating to LH/LM II–IIIA1 see Macdonald 1984.

General chronological scheme	Rutter 1977	Mountjoy <i>Regional Mycenaean</i>	Mycenae	Tiryns Unterburg
LH IIIB2 (Late)	LH IIIB2 (Late)	Transitional LH IIIB2/LH IIIC	LH IIIB2 (Late)	SH IIIB2 Ende
LH IIIC Early	Phase 1		LH IIIC Early	SH IIIC Früh Phase 1
	Phase 2	LH IIIC Early	Tower Phase	SH IIIC Früh Phase 2
	Phase 3			SH IIIC Früh Phase 3
LH IIIC Middle	Phase 4a	LH IIIC Middle	LH IIIC Developed	SH IIIC Entwickelt
	Phase 4b		LH IIIC Advanced	SH IIIC Fortgeschritten
LH IIIC Late	Phase 5 Early	LH IIIC Late	LH IIIC Late (Final)	SH IIIC Spät
Sub-Mycenaean	Phase 5 Late	Sub-Mycenaean	Sub-Mycenaean	Sub-Mycenaean

Figure 9.1 LH IIIC Chronological systems

– LH IIIC Early, Middle and Late – has been generally accepted. Moreover, at the reference sites of Tiryns and Mycenae a four-partite scheme has been introduced by which LH IIIC Middle is subdivided into a Developed and an Advanced phase (Figure 9.1). It is true that scholars still disagree on how the two schemes should be aligned and synchronised.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, it has become possible to view the warrior burials of LH IIIC in a diachronic perspective and to place them into a historical context. Therefore late Mycenaean warrior tombs and burials are grouped in this chapter under the following chronological premises:

1. warrior burials recently excavated and already dated with reference to the subdivisions of LH IIIC;
2. LH/LM IIIC warrior burials known from earlier excavations: re-assessment of chronology;
3. warrior burials of LH/LM IIIC date in general, but without clearly ascertainable contexts: re-assessment of chronology not possible.

<sup>3</sup> Moreover, there is a lively scholarly discussion as to whether the stylistic development of Mycenaean pottery actually warrants the introduction of a phase called Sub-Mycenaean, or whether this phase should be regarded as the last stage of LH IIIC Late. In Figure 9.1 the phase of Sub-Mycenaean is retained since we believe that this was an important cultural and chronological stage in the process of transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age of Greece (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998: 116).

# 1. WARRIOR BURIALS (MAINLY) DISCOVERED BY RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND ALREADY DATED ACCORDING TO THE SUBDIVISIONS OF LH IIIC

## *Perati* (Figure 9.2 (15))

In the 1950s a LH IIIC cemetery was discovered and excavated on the hill of Perati in the bay of Porto Raphti. Strictly speaking, this site ought to be counted among the earlier excavations mentioned in our second section. However, it is that very cemetery of Perati which, due to the excavator's careful study of the burial sequence of every single tomb, has become seminal for the chronological subdivision of the period. The results of the excavations, published with remarkable



*Figure 9.2* LH IIIC warrior tombs: the Greek mainland

- 1 Patras-Klauss; 2 Krini; 3 Monodhendri-Hagios Konstantinos; 4 Kallithea-Spenzes; 5 Kallithea-Langanidia; 6 Lousika-Spaliareika; 7 Kangadi; 8 Portes; 9 Nikoleika; 10 Palaiokastros; 11 Kephallonia/Lakkithra; 12 Kephallonia/Dhiakata; 13 Delphi; 14 Hexalophos; 15 Perati



Figure 9.3 LH IIIIC warrior tombs: the Aegean Islands

16 Naxos/Grotta-Haplomata; 17 Naxos/Grotta-Kamini; 18 Kos/Langada; 19 Rhodes/Passia; 20 Crete/Mouliana; 21 Crete/Praisos-Foutoula; 22 Crete/Myrsini

speed, provided the first basis for establishing the tripartite chronological scheme of LH IIIIC (Iakovidis, *Perati*).<sup>4</sup> Among the 219 tombs (of which 192 were of the chamber-tomb type), two may be defined as warrior tombs.

*Tomb 38* contained six burials, one of them a cremation (*Perati I*: 279–84). A sword of Kilian-Dirlmeier's type F2 obviously served as a line of demarcation between interments II and III (*Perati I*: 280). The remains of the earlier burial III had been transferred into an oblong pit in the centre of the tomb, its gifts carefully placed around it. They consisted of five stirrup jars, an arm-ring of bronze, and an iron knife. Burial II also had been partly shifted, but the upper part was left *in situ*. Next to the head of the deceased a kylix had been placed, and behind his shoulders a stirrup jar. The position of the sword was such that it lay upright

<sup>4</sup> It may be regarded as an interesting coincidence that the site of Lefkandi-Xeropolis which provided the first settlement evidence for the tripartite subdivision of LH IIIIC was investigated at about the same time, and a preliminary report was published in 1968 (Popham and Sackett 1968).

on his cutting edge, alongside the pit containing burial III, as well as alongside of the arm of burial II. It thus lay between the two burials. The excavator did not expressly attribute the weapon to either of them (*Perati I*: 280–1). The respectful treatment of interment III might suggest that this was the burial of a warrior. However, the kylix found near the skull of burial II seems to indicate that the deceased also had held an elated social position.<sup>5</sup> The adult individual of burial VI (the cremation) may also have been a person of rank: the jug used as the ash-urn also contained the burnt bones of a goat and a sheep,<sup>6</sup> as well as a piece of gold wire. In short, Tomb 38 of Perati seems to have been the burial place of an important family or clan of whom one member (individual II or individual III) had attained warrior status. Chronologically the tomb entirely belonged to Phase III of Perati (*Perati II*: 400), that is, to *LH IIIC Late*.

It is less easy to establish the chronology of the warrior burial of *Tomb 12* at Perati, a large tomb which was used throughout *LH IIIC* (*Perati II*: 400). Of the obviously numerous burials deposited in this tomb neither contexts nor burial sequence could be ascertained (*Perati I*: 304–14). Most finds had been concentrated at the back of the tomb, while immediately behind the south-western corner of the entrance a sword of type G (after Sandars) was placed. Its hilt rested on a small, thin stone plaque, and it was accompanied by the famous bronze knife with a handle in the shape of a duck-head. A humerus fragment lying next to the two weapons possibly induced the excavator to interpret this ensemble as a burial *in situ* (*Perati I*: 305). However, on the parallel of *Tomb 123* (see below) it appears to me more likely that the evidence suggests a ceremonious abandonment of *Tomb 12*: the burial remains (perhaps after having been searched) were transferred to the back of the chamber, while the sword and the knife were deposited together near the entrance, in memory of a warrior who had been once deposited in the tomb.<sup>7</sup> Burial gifts such as seven silver rings (among them three shield-rings), a mirror, steatite cones and a large number of vases suggest that *Tomb 12* also belonged to a family or clan of a higher social rank. The date of the warrior burial, even if we believe that it was *in situ*, cannot be established since the weapons were not accompanied by any vase. The excavator assigns it to the end of Phase II or already to Phase III of the cemetery, that is, to *LH IIIC Middle* or *LH IIIC Late* (*Perati II*: 402).

Depending on whether or not spearheads alone are accepted as indicative of warrior burials,<sup>8</sup> there may have been a third warrior tomb at Perati. *Tomb 123* was built in Phase II (*LH IIIC Middle*) of the cemetery and abandoned during

5 On the significance of kylikes in connection with elite cult practice in the Late Mycenaean and Early Iron Ages see Eder 2003b: 104–8.

6 In this connection the warrior burial at Naxos-Kamini comes to mind, situated on top of a pyre that contained animal bones; see further below.

7 A comparable arrangement, albeit of later date, was found in *Tomb L* of the chamber-tomb cemetery at Elateia. When this tomb was abandoned in the LPG period, a Mycenaean sword of Sandars type G and a pair of tweezers were laid down ceremoniously behind the entrance of the tomb.

8 On this point see the discussion further below, pp. 169, 172.

the same period (*Perati I*: 426–30). Before it was given up, it was searched and partly cleared. Of the remaining burial gifts, a large krater together with several drinking vessels, a razor, a pair of tweezers and a whetstone certainly belonged to those objects which were appreciated by the members of LH IIIC elites. Moreover, in the SE corner of the chamber a spearhead was found. The spear had been carefully placed alongside the entire east wall of the chamber. Given the small size of the spearhead and the small dimensions of the chamber a short shaft is suggested, so that the weapon may have been a spear or javelin rather than a large lance (*Perati II*: 357). Nevertheless, its position suggests that it was deposited with deference, and it was the only spearhead found in the cemetery.

### ***Krini-Drimalēika in Achaïa (Figure 9.2 (2))***

The publication of the burial sequence carefully observed in *Tomb 3* at this site in the Patras region provided, for the first time, the criteria for dating a warrior burial of Achaïa more closely within the LH IIIC period (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994). The upper level of two burial layers contained two pairs of interments. One of these burials clearly was that of a warrior. It was accompanied by a Naue II sword still in its scabbard, placed along the warrior's right hand. The hilt was laid towards his head. The scabbard is of particular interest. It was made of leather and decorated with an eight-spoke wheel-made of bronze strips, as well as with bronze bands riveted with hollow studs. The excavator compared them to the riveted bands found in the warrior tomb of Kallithea Tomb A (see below, p. 160). A spearhead was placed on the warrior's right, with its point towards the back wall.<sup>9</sup> A silver ring was placed on his right forefinger. A bronze spiral ornament and an ivory comb also belonged to this burial. Next to the warrior, and closely associated with him, lay the burial of a woman, perhaps his wife or companion. The excavator even suggests that the pair were buried simultaneously.

There can be no doubt that the warrior burial of Krini-Drimalēika had been treated with exceptional respect. This also appears from the fact that no other interment of the upper layer was equipped with individual burial gifts. These were all piled up at the back of the chamber, among them a number of vases dated by the excavator to LH IIIC Middle/Developed (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994) after which period the tomb was abandoned. *LH IIIC Middle/Developed* may therefore be accepted as the date of the warrior burial.

### ***Spaliareïka near Lousika in Achaïa (Figure 9.2 (6))***

Further evidence for warrior tombs was found in the area of Kato Achaïa. A cluster of nine tombs was excavated at the site of Spaliareïka. *Tomb 2* contained six burials, three of them of outstanding character (Petropoulos 2000).

9 A parallel to Perati Tomb 123 (see above)?



The *first* burial in terms of chronology was a cremation deposited in a bronze kalathos near the southern wall of the tomb (Petropoulos 2000: 75; pls. 6, 25–7). The burial gifts included a long knife (0.27 m), a knife of normal size, a razor, a pair of tweezers, two whetstones, and six vases. The burial was dated by the excavator to *LH IIIC Early* (Petropoulos 2000: 75; pls. 24, 30). There can be no doubt that the cremated individual had been a member of the social elite. Although there was neither a sword nor a spear that would justify its classification as a warrior burial, the large knife which had almost the length of a dagger may well have served the purpose of a weapon. In fact, the object has been called *encheiridion* ‘dagger’ by the excavator (Petropoulos 2000: 75).

The *second* warrior burial was an inhumation, dated by the excavator to *LH IIIC Middle and Late* (Petropoulos 2000: 75). It was deposited in the north-western corner of the chamber, and it may have been the last interment on the floor. The burial gifts included a Naue II sword, and, as in Krini-Drimaleïka, several hollowed studs which may once have decorated a scabbard. Further there was a long knife, as well as a small knife with a thin twisted handle, and finally two spearheads which still contained fragments of the shafts. This burial was accompanied by nine vases, one of them a bird-vase, a typical shape of the ceramics of Achaïa.

Most impressive was the *third* assemblage of weapons, deposited in a pit which displayed some interesting features: it was large and oblong, and underneath it there was a second, oval pit covered with stone plaques. This lower pit was found empty. The plaques were covered by ashes and burnt earth, according to the excavator perhaps remains of an incense burning ritual (Petropoulos 2000: 68). On top of this layer a Naue II sword was deposited, accompanied by a spearhead, a spear-butt spike, a knife and a circular shield boss. The latter was surrounded by what may have been the remains of the leather coverings of the shield. There also was a bi-conical button. The only vase associated with this assemblage was a stirrup jar of *LH III C Advanced* or *IIIC Late*.

To conclude, the sequence and chronology of the interments of Tomb 2 of Spaliareïka suggest that warrior status may have been *hereditary* within the family or lineage that owned the tomb. The cremation in the bronze kalathos cannot be called a warrior burial in the true sense. However, the outstanding features of this burial and the large knife may have indicated that this man had been the first person of his lineage to aspire, some time in *LH IIIC Early*, to the status of a military leader. The two other burials accompanied by weapons were definitely of the warrior type, succeeding one another in *LH IIIC Middle/Advanced* and *Late*. Moreover, Tomb 2 was the *only* warrior tomb within the entire group of graves, although some of them were equally well equipped with items of prestige and personal ornament. Finally, Tomb 2 was the largest funerary monument of the group. Its height was 3 m, the roof imitated a vault, and the surfaces of the walls were carved with great care. In short, much effort was invested into the construction of this tomb (Petropoulos 2000: 71).

*Portes-Kephalovryso in Achaia (Figure 9.2 (8))*

Recent funerary evidence has been reported from this site near the border between Achaia and Elis. An extensive settlement site has been identified, and a cemetery is being excavated (Kolonas 2001; Moschos 2000; for preliminary reports see *AD* 48, 1993, Chron. B1: 123; *AD* 49, 1994, Chron. B1: 230–1; *AD* 50, 1995: 217–18). So far twelve chamber tombs have been found which had replaced, at the beginning of LH IIIA, three tumuli of Early Mycenaean date. All chamber tombs displayed a great wealth of precious burial gifts including ostentatious vases. However, *one* chamber tomb was deliberately built into one of the tumuli so as to give the impression of a funerary monument covered by a mound. This tomb contained the burial of a warrior in his armour, of which a Naue II sword, a spearhead, a dagger, a pair of greaves, a bronze headgear still preserving part of the inner lining, and a bronze bowl have been reported by the excavator (Kolonas 2001: 260f.).

It appears that, similarly to Spaliareika, we may be dealing with a single warrior tomb situated within a group of what seem to have been the funerary monuments of a local elite group. However, more information has to be awaited before further conclusions can be drawn. In particular, so far no pottery has been published from this tomb. According to first reports the date of the warrior burial was *LH IIIC Early*, but further pottery study may lead to a date in LH IIIC Middle (information kindly supplied by Dr I. Moschos, Patras).

The headgear found at Portes-Kephalovryso is of particular interest. When first excavated, it had the appearance of a crushed bucket (see Papadopoulos 1999: pl. LIXb). However, after restoration the object has become quite impressive.<sup>10</sup> It has the shape of a tall tube made from bronze bands, and the elliptical shape becomingly fits the human head. A soft inner lining offered protection against bruises. The surface is finely highlighted by the decoration of the metal bands, consisting of horizontal ribs that alternate with single horizontal rows of rivets. The object cannot have protected the head as its top is open.<sup>11</sup> More likely its purpose was to demonstrate a position of rank, if not of rule. The excavators have called it a ‘tiara’ (Kolonas 2001). In fact, it may well have been a crown, and it was not an isolated find. Most probably it had a very close parallel in the ‘bucket-shape’ cylindrical object found in the tholos-tomb at Praisos-Foutoula (see below, p. 164). Moreover, the metal strips found in Tomb A at Kallithea-Spenzes may well have been the remains of a warrior’s crown rather than of a corselet or of a scabbard (see further below).

10 Autopsy was made possible for me by Dr M. Petropoulos, Director of the Ephorate at Patras, and Dr I. Moschos. Sincere thanks are due to both of them.

11 Moreover, none of the manifold helmets depicted on LH IIIC vases exhibits a shape that could be compared to the headgear from Portes, as well as to its counterpart from Praisos-Foutoula (see below).

### ***Nikoleika near Aigion in Achaia (Figure 9.2 (9))***

In the village of Keryneia near the modern town of Aigion a Mycenaean cemetery was discovered at the site of Kallithea. Fourteen chamber tombs were detected of which four have already been investigated. *Tomb 4* proved to be of importance to our present subject. It was in use from LH IIB through IIIC. The burials were contained in seven pits. The burial gifts comprised, *inter alia*, more than thirty vases, beads of glass and rock crystal, a bronze pin, a bronze knife, and above all a Naue II sword. Although the contexts have not yet been published in detail, the excavator has given the information that the Naue II sword was found together with a stirrup jar dated to *LH IIIC Middle* (Petropoulos forthcoming).

## **2. LH/LM IIIC WARRIOR BURIALS KNOWN FROM EARLIER EXCAVATIONS: RE-ASSESSMENT OF CHRONOLOGY**

### ***Kallithea-Spenzes in Achaia (Figure 9.2 (4))***

The Mycenaean cemetery at this site near Patras has yielded two famous warrior tombs (Yalouris 1960). Although the contexts of *Tomb A* had been disturbed, the excavator was able to distinguish two interments of which the warrior burial came second. It contained a Naue II sword, a spearhead, and greaves. Bronze sheet bands ornamented with ribs and rivets (Yalouris 1960: pl. 29) were formerly interpreted as fittings of a (leather) corselet. On the Krini evidence (see above, p. 157) it has been suggested that they, too, originally had served as decorative parts of a scabbard (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994). However, the Krini pieces as decorations of a scabbard notwithstanding, it appears more likely that the bronze bands from Kallithea had been parts of a headgear like those found at Portes in Achaia and at Foutoula in east Crete (see above, p. 159, and below, p. 164), that is to say, of a warrior's crown. In contrast to an earlier *communis opinio*, the warrior equipment of *Tomb A* was not deposited in LH IIIC Early. According to the excavator the only vase clearly associated with the weapons was a stirrup jar (Yalouris 1960: pls. 27.4 and 30.1), now dated to *LH IIIC Middle* (Deger-Jalkotzy 1991: 27; Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 427 and fig. 150.96). In my own opinion this vessel could be even assigned to the earlier sub-phase of this period, contemporary with LH IIIC Middle/Developed of the Argolid. Therefore the weapons of *Tomb A* at Kallithea-Spenzes were deposited in LH IIIC Middle, perhaps at the same time as the warrior burial at Krini-Drimalēika (see above), or somewhat later, contemporary with the LH IIIC Middle/Advanced phase of the Argolid. All other vases of *Tomb A* are LH IIIC Middle/Advanced and possibly Late (see Yalouris 1960: pls. 30.2–4).

The vases associated with the warrior burial of *Tomb B* at Kallithea-Spenzes are of *LH IIIC Advanced* or *IIIC Late* type (Yalouris 1960: pl. 32.4–6).

Consequently this has to be regarded as the date when the Naue II sword, the spearhead, the sauroter, boar's tusks (remains of a helmet?), a knife, a razor, a pair of tweezers were deposited.

In short, the warrior burials of Tombs A and B at Kallithea-Spenzes can be dated, at the earliest, to LH IIIC Middle. Stylistically the stirrup jar from Tomb A may perhaps suggest a slightly earlier deposition of the warrior burial of this tomb, but still within LH IIIC Middle. The pottery chronology of Tomb B points to LH IIIC Middle or even IIIC Late.

### ***Palaiokastro in Arcadia (Figure 9.2 (10))***

Near the archaeological site of Palaiokastro (Gortynia) an extensive Mycenaean cemetery was discovered. Three clusters of chamber tombs were excavated in 1957 by C. Christou and published much later (Demacopoulou and Crouwel 1998). One cluster contained a warrior tomb (*Tomb 6*), the architecture of which imitated elements of the tholos-type of tombs. The finds included a Naue II sword, two spearheads, two knives, and pottery dated to *LH IIIC Middle*. The tomb contained at least seven interments, and it appears difficult to assign the finds with certainty. Demacopoulou and Crouwel suggest that the sword and one spearhead, together with a bronze pin found inside its socket, belonged to one burial, while the second spearhead is assigned to a different interment (Demacopoulou and Crouwel 1998: 281–3).

Over 100 more tombs have been excavated by Th. Spyropoulos since 1980. One of them is reported by the excavator as having contained a Naue II sword. The general character of the pottery shown in a preliminary report is again *LH IIIC Middle*, and more probably of the Advanced stage of that phase (see *AR* 43, 1996–7: 33–4, figs 42–5).

### ***Hexalophos in Thessaly (Figure 9.2 (14))***

The site lies in western Thessaly near Trikkala. It comprised a burial tumulus where two cist-graves were excavated (Theocharis 1968). Each cist contained one burial. *Grave A*, situated in the centre of the mound, contained a sword of Kilian-Dirlmeier's Aegean type F2, as well as a spearhead and five kylikes with ribbed stems. These vases point to the very *end of the LH IIIC period*. The cist was constructed of five large schist plaques, one of which served as the bottom, and it was covered by three smaller plaques. A burnt area, perhaps a pyre, was also mentioned in connection with *Grave A*. The construction of *Grave B*, near the perimeter of the mound, was not at all as elaborate as that of the central grave. It also contained two kylikes, as well as hand-made pottery and a few pieces of bronze jewellery. It is said to have been the burial of a woman. The excavation of the tumulus, which may have been the burial monument of a clan (Schachermeyr 1980: 307), has remained incomplete.

**Grotta on Naxos (Figure 9.3 (16, 17))**

Near the modern town of Grotta on the island of Naxos two Mycenaean chamber-tomb cemeteries, *Haplomata* and *Kamini*, were discovered. They were not part of an extensive cemetery but arranged in two clusters (Vlachopoulos 2003b: 221). Each of them contained a warrior tomb. According to a recent reconstruction of the burial contexts of *Kamini Tomb A*, the warrior burial was accompanied by a Naue II sword and by seven bronze objects with indentations, interpreted as parts of a curry-comb for horses (Vlachopoulos 1999a: 308; 310 fig. 17).<sup>12</sup> The pottery assigned to this warrior burial is of *LH IIIC Middle* date.

According to the excavator another warrior burial was found on the north-eastern edge of the *Kamini* cemetery, in the vicinity of chamber tomb Delta. A small platform was covered with a thick black layer of earth which contained burnt bones from animal sacrifices. On top of the pyre, a human skeleton was inhumed, accompanied by a spearhead and a butt-spike. The burial gifts further included a second spearhead, gold jewellery, a seal-stone, a silver ring, bronze rings, and a great number of vases (Zapheiroopoulos 1960: 335–7). Vlachopoulos 2003b: 221 interprets this ensemble as an open air warrior burial. Here, as in several other cases, the question arises whether the presence of a spear (or spears) is sufficient for qualifying an interment as ‘warrior burial’. This problem will be discussed later in this chapter.

The pottery of *Haplomata Tomb A* (Kardara 1977) can also be dated to *LH IIIC Middle* and *Late* (Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 939). By analogy with *Kamini Tomb A* it may be suggested that the Naue II sword found in *Haplomata Tomb A* had originally been associated with the splendid stirrup jars of *IIIC Middle* rather than with the plain vessels of *IIIC Late*. This would also provide a date for the deposition of the warrior burial in *LH IIIC Middle* (Vlachopoulos 2003b: 221).

It should be added that not only the warrior burials, but all interments of the two cemeteries at Grotta displayed an extraordinary wealth of precious objects and prestigious goods such as copiously decorated pottery, seals, jewellery, precious metal and ivory objects. They testify to the prosperity and the lively contacts across the Aegean enjoyed by the inhabitants of Naxos during *LH IIIC Middle* and the early years of *LH IIIC Late* (Vlachopoulos 1999b). Free from the political and economic influence that had been formerly exercised by the mighty powers first of the Minoan and later of the Mycenaean palaces, the Cyclades in *LH IIIC* were able to make the most of their advantageous geographical position.

12 Horse-breeding and horsemanship appear to have been part of the ideology and self-awareness of the Naxian elite(s), as also testified by representations of horses, horsemen and riders on *LH IIIC* kraters found in the Mycenaean settlement layers at Grotta and Iria (Vlachopoulos 2003b: 225, 227 fig. 10).

***Langada on Kos (Figure 9.3 (18))***

Of the sixty-one Mycenaean tombs excavated at the site of Langada on Kos *Tomb 21* contained a late Mycenaean warrior burial (Morricone 1965–66: 136–42). Along the southern wall of the tomb-chamber a bench of c. 0.50 m height was carved into the rock. On the bench a Naue II sword was laid, while the deceased was apparently deposited on the floor alongside the bench. If so, the sword lay at his side, but on top of the bench. Near the skull a spearhead was found, at a spot where the excavator guessed that his shoulders may have been (Morricone 1965–66: 136). Both the sword and the spearhead belonged to the most advanced types of the time.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the position of the sword, together with the fact that it had been bent ('killed') and thus rendered unserviceable, suggests that the deceased warrior was treated with great reverence. Apart from the weapons, the burial gifts deposited in the tomb were, on the whole, modest. The majority of the nine vases found in Tomb 21 exhibit the characteristics of LH IIIB pottery, to which date the warrior burial of Tomb 21 has been consequently assigned (Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean*: 1078, 1097). However, this chronology is not water-tight: one stemmed bowl (Morricone 1965–66: 139 and fig. 126.69) in my view should be classified as LH IIIC Early, if not Developed. Yet even so Tomb 21 of Langada has to be regarded as one of the earliest warrior tombs of the post-palatial era.

**Crete**

Warrior tombs of LM IIIC have mainly been found in eastern Crete. Their significance has been recently analysed by A. Kanta's article on Cretan elites in the aftermath of Minoan palace period (Kanta 2003).

The best-known warrior burials are those of two built tholos tombs of rectangular shape which were excavated at *Mouliana* (Figure 9.3 (20); for the excavation report see Xanthoudides 1904: 22–50). According to the pottery dating from LM IIIA through IIIC, *Tomb A* was used over a considerable span of time. The last interments appear to have been an inhumation and a cremation. The latter was contained in the famous krater decorated with a hunting scene on one side, and on the other side with a man on horseback carrying a spear and a shield (Xanthoudides 1904: pl. 3). The excavator attributed to this interment three more vases, a golden ring with a plain shield, and another ring of gold. Many more burial gifts were found mainly in the left part of the tomb. They included two swords of Kilian-Dirlmeier's type F2, as well as a Naue II sword, a spearhead,

13 The sword belongs to the earlier 'Typ A' (after Kilian-Dirlmeier) of the Naue II class which was of Italian and ultimately of central European origin. The type first appeared in the Aegean in LH IIIB (see Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 177 n. 18) and was subsequently incorporated into the Aegean repertoire (see also Eder and Jung 2005). The same is true of the spearhead from Langada Tomb 21 (Avila 1983: 61).

two bow fibulae, a bronze pin with globular head (representing an early type), and four rectangular plaques with indentations. The latter, looking like little saw blades, were interpreted by the excavator as a kind of *strigilis* (Xanthoudides 1904: 28). However, they may well have served a similar purpose to the toothed objects from Tomb A of Grotta-Kamini, namely for horse-grooming (see above, p. 162), even if their appearance differs from those.<sup>14</sup> There were also a few vases, mainly stirrup jars. Of all these objects A. Kanta attributed one sword of F2 type, the spearhead, the bronze vases, the fibulae and the pin to the inhumation found in this tomb which she interpreted as a warrior burial (Kanta 2003). As for the other two swords (one of F2, the other of Naue II type), it may be assumed that the cremation contained in the krater also had originally been a warrior burial. The pictorial decoration of the krater (see above) seems to support this view.

*Tomb B*, also a rectangular tholos tomb, also contained two warrior burials (Xanthoudides 1904: 38–50). One was deposited in a larnax, the other one on the floor upon a thick layer of earth and pebbles. The burial in the larnax was accompanied by a Naue II sword, a gold ring, two stirrup jars, and two pairs of bronze discs, perhaps cymbals or ‘phalara’. On the floor of Tomb B a second Naue II sword and a gold mask were found, most probably the burial gifts of the second burial. The stirrup jars found in this tomb have become famous for their octopus decoration. There were also two spearheads which the excavator could not attribute with certainty to any of the burials.

According to Kanta, the burial vases found in both tombs typologically refer to the *later part of LM IIIC*. The krater containing the cremation as mentioned above was dated by Kanta to the end of the period (2003: 180). The high bow fibulae and the pin with globular head attributed by Kanta to the inhumed warrior burial of Tomb A also point to a rather late chronological stage of LM IIIC. On the Mycenaean mainland such finds would be generally taken as indicative of SM.

At *Praisos-Foutoula* (Figure 9.3 (21)) another tholos tomb may have contained a warrior burial (Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 180f.). Among the burial gifts there were a spearhead, a gold face-mask, a gold ring, a large bronze vessel, and an ivory handle. Of particular interest is an object ‘looking like a cylindrical bucket’ (Platon 1960: 304) which consisted of metal bands alternately decorated with a series of ribs and with horizontal rows of rivets (Platon 1960: pl. 241b). It is very likely that this was a headgear like the ‘crowns’ of LH IIIC warriors in Achaia (see above, pp. 159, 160). While the face-mask and the gold ring relate the owner(s) of this tomb to an East Cretan elite group and specifically to Tomb B of Moulia, the headgear of Foutoula and the Naue II swords found in Crete testify to a much wider network of connections among the elites of the post-palatial period. Whether or not the Foutoula tomb may be counted among the

14 It is perhaps no mere chance that both in Naxos and in Moulia not only such objects with indentations were found, but also kraters with representations of riders.

warrior graves of the post-palatial era (Kanta 2003: 180) once more depends on the evaluation of the significance of spearheads (see below, pp. 169, 172), since no sword was found in the tomb. The pottery found is of LM IIIC Late character; the stirrup jars resemble those from Moulana (Kanta, *Late Minoan III*: 181).

### 3. WARRIOR BURIALS OF LH/LM IIIC DATE IN GENERAL, BUT WITHOUT CLEARLY ASCERTAINABLE CONTEXTS (TABLES 1 AND 2)

There are a number of warrior tombs, mostly known from earlier excavations, whose chronology cannot be established more precisely. The reason has to be mainly sought in the lack of ascertainable contexts, even if in some cases a general date in LH/LM IIIC seems certain. This applies to the looted chamber tombs at Monodhendri-Agios Konstantinos and Kangadhi in Achaïa, to Lakkithra Tomb A and Dhiakata Tomb 2 in Kephallonia, to the Temenos-Tomb from Delphi, to Passia Tomb 2 on Rhodes. In some other cases the tombs concerned had been used over a longer period so that the warrior burials cannot be dated to LH/LM IIIC with certainty. This applies in particular to Tomb 2 of Agios Konstantinos and two (perhaps three) tombs at Kallithea-Langanidia in Achaïa, and to the chamber tombs of Myrsini in Crete. There is no point in describing at length and enumerating the evidence from such tombs since they do not contribute to the understanding of the diachronic dimension of the phenomenon of LH/LM IIIC warrior burials. However, these tombs and burials have to be considered if an evaluation of the distribution and a general characterisation of post-palatial warrior tombs in the Aegean are to be attempted. For this reason, they are listed in our Tables 9.1 and 9.2.

Four chamber tombs of the Mycenaean cemetery at *Patras-Klauss* in Achaïa (Figure 9.2 (1)), recently excavated by T. J. Papadopoulos, are provisionally included in this group. They have been called warrior tombs mainly on account of the weapons found in them, and less so on account of other finds. Of those tombs, *Tomb Theta* definitely contained a warrior burial of LH IIIC. This was burial A, furnished with a Naue II sword, a spearhead, a knife, a pair of tweezers, and two amphorae of LH IIIC type (Papadopoulos 1999: 270–1). Three more graves of the Klauss cemetery have also been classified as warrior tombs by the excavator, mainly on account of a dagger found in Tomb A and spearheads found in Tombs M1 and Tomb E. However, the chronology of these tombs has been generally characterised as LH IIIA-C or LH IIIB-C (Papadopoulos: 270). Clearly more information on the typology and chronology of the pottery is required.

Earlier excavations of the Patras-Klauss cemetery yielded a Naue II sword and a spearhead (Papadopoulos 1999: 270, with references). The Naue II sword seems to indicate the existence of a further warrior tomb of LH IIIC date but the contexts have remained unclear.



Table 9.1 LH IIIC warrior tombs without certain contexts and possible LH IIIC warrior tombs of the Greek Mainland

Region, Site	Findings	Remarks	References
Achaea Monodhendri/Ag. Konstantinos (Figure 9.2 (3))	Sword, type Naue II; vases of LH IIIC	Looted chamber tombs. Contexts not ascertainable.	Petropoulos, M., <i>AD</i> 45 (1990), pp. 132–3. Papadopoulos 1999: 271
Achaea Hag. Konstantinos Tomb 2 (Figure 9.2 (3))	Spearhead; knife; fragments of bronze-strip (diadem?); 3 bronze finger-rings; jewellery of semi-precious stones; pottery of LH IIIA–C	Half-looted chamber tomb. Date in LH IIIC not certain.	Kolonas, L., <i>AD</i> 45 (1990), pp. 131–2.
Achaea Kallithea-Langanidia (Figure 9.2 (5)) Tombs VI, VII Tholos-tomb	2 spearheads; 2 daggers; 1 knife Boar's tusks; 1 knife; tweezers; fibula	Date in LH IIIC not certain. Plundered. Situated among 14 chamber tombs. Warrior burial likely, date uncertain.	Papadopoulos 1999: 269f.
Achaea Kangadhi (Figure 9.2 (7)) Chamber tombs	Sword, type Naue II; spearhead	No context.	Papadopoulos 1978–79: 25, 164 and fig. 353a, 166 and fig. 320c, d.
Kephallonia Lakkitra (Figure 9.2 (11)) Tomb A, pit 6	Sword, type not ascertainable; spearhead; shield (?)	'Cave-dormitory', 10 pits. No certain contexts for: 5 knives; 1 razor; jewellery, amber beads, gold necklace; 148 vases of LH IIIC.	Souyouzoglou-Haywood 1999: 42. Sword: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 93.
Kephallonia Dhiakata (Figure 9.2 (12)) Tomb 2 (two burial pits)	2 swords, type F2 Kilian-Dirlmeier; 4 knives; razor; fibula; amber; 2 vases preserved, LH IIIC	Contexts of the two burial pits not ascertainable.	Souyouzoglou-Haywood 1999: 38–9.
Phokis Delphi (Figure 9.2 (13)) 'Tombe d'un chef' of the Temenos chamber tomb group	Sword, type G Sandars; knife; razor; tweezers; leaf-shaped bow fibula; c. 50 vases, LH IIIB through LH IIIC Late and Submycenaean; stone pendant; 3 biconical spindle-whorls	Contexts not ascertainable.	Perdrizet 1908: 6–10. Pottery: Mountjoy, <i>Regional Mycenaean</i> : 741.

Table 9.2 LM IIIC warrior tombs without certain contexts and possible LH IIIC warrior tombs from the Dodecanese and Crete

Region, Site	Finds	Remarks	References
Rhodes Passia (Figure 9.3 (19)) Chamber tomb T. 2	Sword, type F2 Kilian-Dirlmeier; knife; 1 arrowhead; silver shield-ring; bronze finger-ring; 4 vases, LH IIIB–C	Possibly four burials. Contexts not ascertainable.	Dietz 1984: 21–50; 96–104.
Kos Langada (Fig. 9.3 (18)) T. 53	Sword, type F2 Kilian-Dirlmeier; clip-shaped bronze wire; spindle whorl; clay bead; 5 vases, LH IIIB–III B–C Early	Contexts not ascertainable. LH IIIC Early date for sword possible.	Morricone 1965–66: 238ff. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 83.
Crete Myrsini (Figure 9.3 (22)) Chamber tomb A  Chamber tomb B	Sword, type Naue II; ‘bronze weapons’, inclusive of spearheads; 2 triton shells; c. 30 vases LM IIIA–C Sword, type F2 Kilian-Dirlmeier; Sword, type D 1g Kilian-Dirlmeier; ‘bronze tools and weapons’; vases LM IIIA–C	Several interments, contexts not ascertainable; Naue II sword presumably LM IIIC. LM IIIC context of sword F 2 probable.	Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 95. Kanta 2003: 178.  Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 62, 82. Kanta 2003: 178.
Crete: Moulia T. A (Figure 9.3 (20)) For burial 1 see Table 9.3 Without context:	Sword, type Naue II; Sword type F2 Kilian-Dirlmeier	Krater LM IIIC Late, containing cremation.	Xanthoudides 1904.

## DISCUSSION

The distribution of LH IIIC warrior tombs as displayed in Figures 9.1 and 9.2 suggests that this particular type of burial was common in post-palatial Mycenaean Greece. In addition, weapons found outside tomb contexts, such as the LH/LM swords of late types from Euboea-Avlonaki, Euboea-Palioura, Siteia, the Mesara, or the graves from Athens seem to indicate that the phenomenon of warrior tombs extended to those regions, as well. The lack of warrior tombs in Messenia can be easily explained by the marked depopulation of the region after the fall of Pylos. The same may have been true of Boeotia and of the

Volos region after the palaces of these districts had been destroyed, although the possibility that future archaeological research may change the picture cannot be excluded.

A different explanation is required for the absence of warrior tombs in the Argolid. The LH IIIC period is well represented in the settlement record of the region, and at several sites older chamber tombs continued to be used or were re-used in LH IIIC; some even were newly constructed (Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*: 89, 99). Yet so far no warrior burial has been discovered. On the other hand, the settlement evidence of Tiryns gives reason to assume that in the post-palatial period a new elite emerged 'who used the possibilities created by the collapse of the palatial system' (Maran, this volume: p. 143) and competed for political power and leadership (Maran, this volume; Mühlenbruch 2002). Moreover, figural vase painting, particularly on LH IIIC kraters from Mycenae and Tiryns, abounds in the representation of military action and of aristocratic occupations such as riding the chariot and hunting (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: part XI). These images of a 'heroic' lifestyle may well reflect the self-awareness of the social elites of the post-palatial period, as well as the importance attributed to military prowess during a period of upheaval and general unrest (see Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 20). Furthermore, the Mycenae and Tiryns hoards contained swords including some of the Naue II type. It is therefore likely that the absence of warrior tombs at Mycenae and Tiryns reflects the present state of research, and that LH IIIC elite burials and warrior burials in particular are still waiting to be discovered. Moreover, J. Maran's analysis of the Tiryns 'treasure' suggests that at Tiryns a kind of legitimate rulership was at least temporarily established, accompanied by the attempt to unify a territory of considerable extent under its rule (Maran, this volume). If so, it is reasonable to assume that a similar kind of rule and of territorial control was established at Mycenae.<sup>15</sup> Under these premises, the absence of warrior tombs in the cemeteries of other sites and particularly of Argos and Asine may be ascribed to the predominance of the two powerful centres at Tiryns and Mycenae. However, reflections of this kind have to remain hypothetical until further evidence is available.

In striking contrast to the Argolid, the region of Achaea has produced the largest number of warrior tombs and burials (see Figure 9.2). Most of them were found in the cemeteries of the Patras and Dyme regions in Western Achaea, but recent discoveries have revealed warrior tombs in the southern and eastern parts of the district, as well. The sharp increase in numbers of warrior burials in LH IIIC has been explained in terms of a need for protection and defence felt by the

15 Excavations on the Lower Terraces at Midea gave evidence for the transformation of a large megaroid LH IIIB-building into a post-palatial structure quite similar to Building T at Tiryns (Walberg 1997; Maran 2001: 117). Apparently also at the third palatial site of the Argolid a local centre of power was temporarily established in LH IIIC. However, there is no further evidence which would necessitate a discussion of this site in the present context.

local communities after the disasters (Papadopoulos 1999), and/or in terms of the rise of a new social class whose power was not inherited from the preceding period but was based on military preparation and organisation (Moschos 2002: 30; Eder 2003a: 38–41). The distribution of warrior tombs in Achaea further suggests that the social and political map of the district in LH IIIC was marked by small autonomous polities, each under a local political leadership (see also Moschos 2002: 29–30). It has often been pointed out that most weapons found in the warrior tombs of Achaea were of ultimately ‘European’ types, developed in the regions of the so-called ‘*koiné metallurgica*’ of Italy, eastern Central Europe and the Balkan regions (Harding 1984; Bouzek 1985; Papadopoulos 1999; Eder 2003a; Eder and Jung 2005). Achaea clearly played a decisive role in mediating and monitoring the contacts between the regions of the Adriatic and the Aegean (see, for instance, Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 65–6; Eder and Jung 2005). As a result, the district enjoyed a remarkable prosperity in LH IIIC which is reflected by the rich burial gifts of the time. The main profit from the exchange of raw materials and prestige objects was obviously claimed by the members of a ruling elite (or ruling elites) whose role very likely included the safeguarding of the transportation of goods. This central function characterised by B. Wagner-Hasel as the main source of income and of political power of Homeric *basileis* (Wagner-Hasel, this volume), may well have had its roots in the social and economic conditions of LH IIIC.

Warrior burials found in defined contexts suggest that the basic equipment consisted of a sword and a spear or 2 spears/javelins (Table 9.3). However, there are exceptions. At Grotta on Naxos there is a striking contrast between the warrior tombs of Kamini T. A and Haplomata T. A where only swords were found, and the burial on top of the ‘pyre’ of Grotta/Kamini which was only accompanied by spearheads. Similarly T. 4 of Nikoleika in Achaea only contained a sword, while the military equipment of T. 123 of Perati and of the larnax-burial of Praisos/Foutoula consisted of spearheads. Most scholars would agree that the application of the term ‘warrior grave’ or ‘warrior tomb’ is justified by the presence of swords or daggers, weapons which were exclusively used in single combat (see, for instance, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998). Opinions diverge with regard to contexts which only contained spearheads. On the one hand it has been pointed out that spears are one of the most efficient and most lethal weapons. On the other hand, others claimed that the use of spears is not exclusively military and therefore suggested that burials accompanied only by spearheads ought to be considered as those of warriors of a lower rank (see Macdonald 1984: 56, with references; Papadopoulos 1999). However, while this hypothesis may find some support from the evidence of LM/LH II through IIIB cemeteries, it cannot explain the ‘spear-warrior’ burials of LH IIIC. First of all, their number is much smaller than that of burials which contained both swords and spears. Moreover, at Naxos and at Praisos/Foutoula the elaborate arrangements of these burials, as well as the wealth of their burial gifts exclude any idea of a lower social rank of

Table 9.3 Ascertainable find contexts of warrior burials, with special regard of weapons, bronzes, significant items, architectural features

Site no.	Name	Sword	Spearhead	Armour	Other bronzes	Significant burial gifts	Special architectural features	Pottery chronology	Remarks	See page
1	Patras-Klauss Tomb Theta Old finds	Naue II Naue II	1 1		Dagger	Tweezers		LH IIIC	By preliminary reports	165
2	Krini-Drimaleika	Naue II; scabbard	1			Comb; ring; bronze spiral		LH IIIC Middle/Devel.		157
4	Kallithea-Spenzes Tomb A Tomb B	Naue II Naue II	1 1, with butt-spike	Greaves	Knife	'Crown' Razor; tweezers; boar's tusks		LH IIIC Middle LH IIIC Middle-Late	Looted tomb Looted tomb	160f.
6	Lousika-Spaliareika, T.2. Burial 1 Burial 2 Burial 3						X			157f.
8	Portes-Kephalovryso	Naue II	1	Greaves	Dagger	'Crown'; bronze bowl	X	LH IIIC Early or Middle	By preliminary reports	159
9	Nikoleika T. 4	Naue II			Knife	Rich burial gifts		LH IIIC Middle	Preliminary reports	160
10	Palaiokastro T. 6	Naue II	1		2 knives	Bronze pin	X	LH IIIC Middle	Context reconstructed	161
11	Hexalophos A	Type F 2	1			5 kylikes	X	LH IIIC Middle	Connected with pyre?	161
12	Grotta/Naxos Kamini T. A 'Warrior' burial near T. D Haplomata T. A	Naue II  Naue II	2; one butt-spike.		Curry-comb (?)	Rich burial gifts Seal-stone: gold jewellery Rich burial gifts		LH IIIC Middle LH IIIC Middle and Late LH IIIC Middle	Context reconstructed Pyre; animal offerings Contexts not certain	162 162 162

Site no.	Name	Sword	Spearhead	Armour	Other bronzes	Significant burial gifts	Special architectural features	Pottery chronology	Remarks	See page
15	Perati T. 12 T. 38 T. 123	Type G Type F 2	1	Bronze knife	Arm-ring  Razor; tweezers; whetstone	Iron knife		LH IIIC Middle or Late LH IIIC Late LH IIIC Middle	Richly furnished tomb  Burial gifts above average standard	154-7
18	Langada/Kos T. 21	Naue II	1				X	LH IIIC Early		163
20	Moulana Tomb A  Tomb B, burial 1 Tomb B, burial 2 Without context	Type F 2  Naue II Naue II	1  2	4 bronze discs	Bronze vases  Gold ring	2 bow fibulae; bronze pin; curry-comb (?)  Gold mask	X	LM IIIC Late  LM III C Late LM III C Late	Inhumation; context reconstructed. For a possible further warrior burial see Table 9.2  Larnax burial	163f.
21	Praisos-Foutoula		1		Large bronze vessel	'crown' (?); gold mask; gold ring; ivory handle	X	LM IIIC Late	Larnax burial	164f.

the individuals buried.<sup>16</sup> Under these premises, a comparison to the evidence of the Homeric epics may perhaps prove more useful than to that of Mycenaean cemeteries of earlier periods. In the Homeric world, to carry a spear and a sword indiscriminately was the right of every free and noble man demonstrating his military prowess (Gröschel 1989: 75f.; van Wees 1998). In this sense both weapons exceeded their original military function, having acquired the additional significance of status symbols. The evidence of the LH IIIC warrior burials, supplemented by LH IIIC pictorial representations as depicted on the famous warrior vase from Mycenae and on the painted stele from the same site (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: XI: 42; 43; for other sites see Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: X.37, 38; XI.1B, 57; Güntner 2000: tables 7.1b, 8.1b), give rise to the hypothesis that the Homeric significance of sword and spear had already prevailed in LH IIIC, even if there may have been some difference, at Naxos, between the 'sword warriors' in the chamber tombs and the man buried on the 'pyre', or in Crete between the man buried in the larnax at Foutoula and the 'sword warriors' from Moulia and Myrsini.<sup>17</sup> It is certainly of interest to note that among the LH IIIC representations of fighting there are more scenes involving the use of spears than the use of swords.<sup>18</sup>

The swords were mostly of the Naue II type, the most advanced cut-and-thrust weapon of the time. It had been introduced during LH IIIB and was soon integrated into the palatial production of weapons.<sup>19</sup> Therefore it does not come as much of a surprise that after the fall of the palaces this efficient and prestigious weapon was taken over by the rulers of LH IIIC. However, the Aegean sword types had not died out. As a matter of fact, splendid swords of the Aegean types F and G were found, for instance, at Perati in Attica and Hexalophos in Thessaly (see also Tables 9.1–9.3). B. Eder has recently pointed out that these swords seem to have been preferred in peripheral regions, while Naue II swords were mainly found in warrior tombs of the Peloponnese and the Aegean islands (Eder 1999). During the SM period, however, mainly type F and G swords were deposited with elite burials, the only exception being the Naue II sword of T. 201 of the North Cemetery at Knossos. Perhaps these weapons which *in praxi* were soon to become obsolete at some point adopted an intrinsic value as testimonies of exalted status and of ancestry.

Apart from swords and spears, LH IIIC warrior burials were frequently accompanied by many more military items such as daggers, knives, helmet, greaves and shield. Moreover, tweezers, combs and razors seem to indicate that personal grooming befitted a warrior as it befitted other male members of the leading

16 Note that Perati T. 123 had been searched and cleared before it was abandoned (see above, p. 156f.).

17 It would be beyond the scope of this paper to pursue this matter further, even if it is of some interest.

18 Apart from the representations quoted above, a new pottery fragment from Naxos may be mentioned which shows a single combat with lances or spears. See Vlachopoulos 2003a: 511, fig. 21.

19 The type survived far into the Early Iron Age when it was converted into an iron weapon.

social ranks. In contrast, for prestige objects such as jewellery, antiques and exotica warrior burials were frequently surpassed by other elite burials. Clearly this does not indicate that warriors were less prosperous than members of the social elite. It only shows that for a warrior burial the military equipment was the decisive element (see the beginning of this chapter).

Warrior tombs of LH IIIC may stand out by their architectural arrangement. They may differ from other tombs by their size or by a different shape such as tumulus or tholos. Distinctive architectural designs of the chamber included benches, niches or vaulted roofs (see Table 9.3).

Turning to the chronology of LH IIIC warrior tombs, they probably did not figure among the cultural characteristics of LH IIIC Early. According to the present state of research, Langada Tomb 21, dating to LH IIIC Early rather than IIIB (see above, p. 163), was the earliest warrior tomb so far known of the post-palatial period in the Aegean. Tomb 2 at Lousika-Spaliareika dated to LH IIIC Early may have been the earliest warrior tomb of Achaea, provided its first burial is accepted as a warrior burial on account of the '*encheiridion*' (above, p. 158). Therefore, unless the tombs listed in Tables 9.1 and 9.2 (see also above, p. 165) contained warrior burials of LH IIIC Early, the majority of post-palatial warrior burials date to *LH IIIC Middle* and *IIIC Late*. Those of Tomb 3 at Krini-Drimaleika and of Tomb A of Kallithea-Spenzes, both in Achaea, seem to have been deposited in LH IIIC/Middle. All others belong to LH IIIC Advanced and Late. The latest LH/LM warrior burials are those of Perati, Hexalophos and the East Cretan tholoi. Considering the general chronology of the pottery found in the tombs of Lakkithra and Diakata on Kephallonia, it is likely that these tombs date to LH IIIC Late, and the same may well be true of the 'Temenos Tomb' at Delphi (see Tables 9.1 and 9.2).

The cultural, sociological and political background of Mycenaean warrior tombs in general has been studied so frequently that there is no need to raise a general discussion in the present context (see, for instance, Mee and Cavanagh 1984; Wright 1987; Cavanagh 1998; Voutsaki 1998; Voutsaki 1999; Cavanagh and Mee, *Private Place*). Confining ourselves to the warrior tombs of the post-palatial period, it is evident that they reflected the deep-rooted change in social organisation and economy caused by the demise of the palatial system (on the following see Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 1998, 2002, forthcoming). No palace was restored. The lexical disappearance of the political, social and administrative terms of the Linear B texts is even more pronounced than in the field of work and production (Morpurgo Davies 1979). Arts and crafts, technology, social behaviour, cult practice, burial customs and other cultural features were no longer maintained by an advanced and complex political system commanding over highly developed economic and cultural potentials. Artisans no longer had to meet the demands of theocratic monarchs and sophisticated courtiers, who had disappeared together with the palace system. Moreover, the loss of the art of writing was of the greatest consequence. For more than four centuries Greece remained illiterate (Deger-Jalkotzy forthcoming).



However, as has already been stated by way of introduction, it would be wrong to view the post-palatial period only in terms of impoverishment and lack of innovation. On the contrary, technologies, particularly in the field of bronze-work (Kayafa, this volume) were promoted, and there was no decline in ship construction (Basch 1987: 140–8; Jones 2000: 17–20). Mycenaean pottery, too, was not affected by any technical or artistic deterioration. Contacts overseas were quickly re-established, particularly within the Aegean (Deger-Jalkotzy 2002; Kanta 2003), as well as with the regions across the Adriatic and to the north along the Great Isthmos Corridor Route (Eder and Jung 2005). As a matter of fact, during the LH IIIC Middle phase the communities of post-palatial Greece achieved a certain economic prosperity, and Mycenaean civilisation witnessed a last blossoming which is revealed by a certain revival of representational arts and architecture (see Maran, this volume) and particularly by the flamboyant decorations of LH IIIC Middle clay vessels (Schachermeyr 1980: 101–63; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: XI–XIII; Rutter 1992).

LH IIIC settlement plans testify to the fact that the people of post-palatial Mycenaean Greece were capable of reorganising their social and political life. In fact, the demise of the palace system may well have been welcomed by the general population as a relief from the strain imposed by the demands of the palace economy. Local communities may have found themselves free to dispose of their own resources and products. Judged by the archaeological evidence, post-palatial settlements were inhabited by village-like communities which consisted of self-contained and economically independent households (Maran, this volume; Mühlenbruch 2002). Their communal productivity does not appear to have extended beyond the limits of self-sufficiency (Deger-Jalkotzy 2002: 58 and nn. 72, 73). The existence of such small, autonomous communities may well have prompted, in the post-palatial period, the application of the political term *damos*, which once had been a designation for local administrative units of the palace system, to its later use (*demos*) in Greek political terminology.

As we have already pointed out, there is ample evidence from LH IIIC settlements and cemeteries to prove that social ranking and elite behaviour had not come to an end with the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system but continued to play a decisive political role in the post-palatial period. Moreover, it may be suggested that social rank and political position in post-palatial communities were largely defined by the demonstration of military prowess. This is well borne out by the representations of 'heroic' male attitudes on the copiously decorated vases of LH IIIC Middle. Favourite themes were warriors equipped with the latest types of weapons and riding on chariots or defiling in procession, as well as representations of single combat, of fighting on foot and on chariot, and naval battle scenes (Deger-Jalkotzy: 1999, with references). Most of these images served as decorative elements of large open vessels (kraters) found in settlement contexts and accompanied by a rich array of drinking vessels, undoubtedly the remains of symposia which brought together the members of the leading ranks.

Representations of warriors and fighting, certainly demonstrating the self-awareness and the corporate identity of the leading groups of LH IIIC, may have also reflected the lifestyle of these people. The archaeological evidence of settlement sites and cemeteries suggests that LH IIIC was by no means a peaceful period easy to live in. It was obviously marked by a great deal of upheaval, population movements, and general unrest. Therefore war and fighting may well have been a historic reality of the time, and military excellence an essential quality required of political leaders.

So far the LH IIIC vase paintings and warrior tombs may be viewed as complementing each other. However, the evidence of the post-palatial warrior tombs seems to imply that, at least during LH IIIC Middle and Late (that is, the main chronological setting of these tombs), a further step in the development of political organisation took place. Even in large cemeteries such as Perati, Palaiokastros and Achaia Klausea no more than one or perhaps two tombs containing LH IIIC warrior burials have been found. As I. Kilian-Dirlmeier first observed, they were surrounded by other tombs containing the burials of other members of the community's elite. Similar clusters continued to exist throughout the final stages of LH IIIC and the transition to the EIA, until the development reached a pinnacle with the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998).

Cemeteries of the pre-palatial periods had not been arranged in this fashion. Elite tombs of those periods had all been characterised by the ostentation of wealth, as well as of weapons, even if a more conspicuous tomb may have stood out among the others. It may therefore be suggested that by the warrior tombs of LH IIIC the aspirations were reflected of certain families or lineages to establish some kind of monocratic rule, possibly following to the model of Mycenaean palace kingship. The disintegration of the unified territories of palace states may well have promoted the rise in status of local dignitaries who had previously figured in the marginal attention of the Linear B texts. This was particularly true of the bearers of the title of *basileus* (*qa-si-re-u* in the Linear B texts) who in post-Mycenaean times even rose to the position of Greek kings (Carlier, *Royauté*). There is some evidence that the rise of the *basileis* to the rank of a chief began in LH IIIC. In fact, attempts towards restoring certain aspects of the ideology of the */wanax/* (that is, of Mycenaean palace kingship) succeeded by LH IIIC Middle (see Maran, this volume). Moreover, just as the position of a *qa-si-re-u* had been hereditary during the palace period, LH IIIC evidence such as that of Tomb 2 at Spaliareika or, according to the ingenious interpretation by J. Maran, the Tiryns 'treasure' seem to indicate that dynastic aspirations were also known in the post-palatial period.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that the warrior tombs of the post-palatial Mycenaean period demonstrate that the ostentation of military prowess and elite status was not only an issue of rulers and leading social ranks of the Early Mycenaean and the Mycenaean palace periods. This feature of social behaviour outlasted the fall of the palaces and survived right into the EIA of Greece.

Moreover LH IIIC warrior tombs may be viewed as the funerary monuments of individuals who either held, or were entitled to hold the title of *basileus* and to obtain the position of a political leader, if not of a petty king or prince. It was their prerogative to be buried together with their swords and spears, even if we may assume that military prowess was a quality which was generally expected from all members of the social elites of the period. Under these premises the political function of the men buried in the warrior tombs of LH IIIC may well be viewed as a step along the line of development from Mycenaean *qa-si-re-we* to the Homeric *basileis*.

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